

AN ANALYSIS OF PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AS WELL AS PEACE EDUCATION FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

My ambition in this paper is to show that the linking of the micro with the macro in the analysis of direct violence as well as indirect violence is essential both to peace research and development studies. Although also some few male researchers, in parts of their writing, have made this linking, the main development in the analysis of peace and development through micro-macro linkages has come from feminist scholarship. I shall further look at the field of peace education from a feminist perspective.

A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF THE PEACE CONCEPT

I have elsewhere (Brock-Utne,1988; Brock-Utne,1989) shown how the peace concept itself will be changed and more complete when seen from a feminist perspective. In my short discussion here I shall make use of the well-known splitting up of the peace concept in "negative and "positive" peace. This splitting up of the peace concept has been with the peace research field since its very beginning and we find it already in the editorial of the first issue of the Journal for Peace Research written by Johan Galtung (1964).

Negative peace

Håkan Wiberg (1987) defines negative peace as "the absence of organized, personal violence, that is approximately the same as non-war" and positive peace as "requiring the absence of structural violence."(translated by me from the Swedish edition). Peace he defines as a state

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of both negative and positive peace. He seems to find the positive peace concept as far more unwieldy to work with than the negative one, which he likes to reserve for non-war. But as I have shown (Brock-Utne,1989) even the negative peace concept can get unwieldy if one examines it from a radical feminist perspective where an analysis of patriarchy and the personal as political is essential. Such an understanding was already included in Galtung's (1969) early discussion of the negative peace concept but seems to have been forgotten by many a peace researcher since. Galtung said:

When one husband beats his wife, there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance, there is structural violence. (Galtung 1969: 171)

What if one million husbands beat their wives? That must also be a clear case of personal violence, even though of a collective kind. In a society where this happens, there is an absence of negative peace. Barbara Roberts (1983) calls it "the war against women" and some radical feminists criticizing women's "peace" work at Greenham Common (Breaching the Peace, 1983) claim that women are constantly "at war" with male society. Even in so-called "peace-times" women live in fear of being burned (in India), raped, mutilated and killed by their so-called "protectors". One of the radical feminists says about women and peace:

Because the violence of the war against women is so widespread, it is not seen as such by many of its victims and certainly not defined as such by those who do the naming - the war makers. It is the very personalized nature of the war against women that allows it to be so normal as to render it invisible...As far as I am concerned the ultimate act of male violence happens everyday. And when I am walking around thinking of this and I hear phrases like "Women for Life on Earth" and "Women for Peace", I feel completely bemused. What on earth do they mean?" (Green, 1983:9)

I want to include the absence of collective, personal violence against women, by these feminists termed "war" in the negative peace concept. But I also have some of the same ambition as Håkan Wiberg (1987) of having at least as clear a war concept as possible to work with. These combined wishes have made me try to solve the conceptual problem by creating a four-fold table (e.g.Brock-Utne, 1989: 47). In this four-fold table I have divided both the negative and the positive peace concept into two: the micro and the macro-level. I have reserved the term "war" for personal, direct and collective violence at the macro-level. What has been called "the war against women" I have placed at the micro-level, thus including it in the negative peace concept but excluding it from the "war" concept. But this division may be criticized. Is not the collective violence against women violence at the **macro**-level? More so than internal wars? Through further study and reflection I see another way of solving the conceptual problems we have run into, wanting both to include the personal violence against women and yet keep a more conventional war-concept within the same negative peace concept. A possible solution lies in the term "organized" in Wiberg's negative peace concept. By insisting that "negative peace is the same as the absence of organized (underlined by me) personal violence" Wiberg excludes the example Galtung gave in his article of personal violence where a husband beats his wife. That beating has not been organized. Even when

one million men beat one million wives, that brutality is not organized in the same way as when soldiers are trained to kill (called to defend themselves and their nation) or police trained to combat riots (though some organized gang rapes may be on the definitional borderline).

After this discussion I would like to extend Wiberg's negative peace definition thus: "Negative peace means the absence of both organized (usually "war") and unorganized personal violence." War is then defined as organized, collective, personal violence, usually between states but possibly within one nation-state, so-called domestic wars. The advantages of not including violence against women in the war-concept are, as I see it, that it is easier to analyze women's work to uphold the institution of war as well as to uproot it. We shall give some examples of such work in the peace education part of this chapter. There is also an advantage in having a concept which is relatively precise. The advantage of including the violence against women in the war-concept may be that peace researchers would have to study this phenomenon as much as they study "war" in the more conventional sense. While I seriously doubt that that would be the effect of such a widening of the war concept, I find that we may keep some of the advantage mentioned by including the absence of unorganized violence against women (but also against children and men) in the negative peace definition. This inclusion I see as important as some of the same mechanisms are at work in both cases.

Positive peace

Hakan Wiberg (1987) admits that it is not enough to say that positive peace requires the absence of structural violence. What about cultural freedom and identity? he asks. And I further ask: What about Galtung's million husbands keeping a million wives in ignorance as an example of structural violence? To keep someone in ignorance can be done both by actively denying them access to information and by denying them an environment conducive to consciousness-raising. It is a different kind of violence from the one committed by the industrialized countries or the multinational companies towards the third world or of the violence going on internally in a country through structures built up in a way where the few may prosper but the many die from starvation. Maybe the distinction between organized and unorganized violence would help our thinking here too? The transnationals, ministries of commerce and the elites in each country are certainly organized. The million husbands are not organized even though they may behave the same way as if they had been because patriarchal thinking is so much part of their value structure (even maybe of their laws and educational system). Galtung uses the example of one million husbands and one million wives, but what about one husband keeping his wife in ignorance? As for instance Friedrich Engels whose "wife" (they never actually married, which was the reason why Karl Marx would never invite the two of them to his home) was an analphabet when he first met her, and still was so after having lived with him for more than twenty years (for further documentation, see Jansen-Jurreit,1976). That example creates some problems for us because, more than in the case with the one million husbands, it seems here clear that there is an actor or rather a non-actor and a victim. The personalized nature of the repression mentioned here should in a way qualify it to be dealt with under absence of negative peace where the actors and victims are easily identified. Yet that category I have left for a more direct, physical violence (beatings, torture,

rapes, physical and sexual assaults, killings). So this leaves us with the necessity of including the million wives (or the one) under the structural violence category. This category will have to include all types of repression and exploitation, whether organized or unorganized, leading to a premature death because of lack of food or because of breathing contaminated air, drinking of contaminated water, or just leading to a more miserable life where human potentials are crippled and not used to their fullest extent. Keeping a wife in ignorance will normally not kill her, while providing her with an inadequate diet will, in the long run. I have therefore introduced a distinction in the positive peace, or absence of indirect violence, category between indirect violence shortening the life span and indirect violence reducing the quality of life. (Brock-Utne, 1989). The table below summarizes my discussion on negative and positive peace:

	Peace	Negative Peace	Positive Peace
	Absence of personal, physical and direct violence	Absence of indirect violence shortening lifespan	Absence of indirect violence reducing the quality of life
Unorganized	Absence of e.g. wife battering, rapes, child abuse, dowry deaths, street killings	Absence of inequalities in micro structures leading to unequal life chances	Absence of repression in micro structures leading to less freedom of choice and fulfillment
Organized	Absence of e.g. war	Absence of economic structures built up within a country or between countries so that life chances of some are reduced or effect of damage on nature by pollution, radiation etc.	Absence of repression in a country of free speech, the right to organize etc.

As far as I can see it, all of the six cells are logically independent of one another. It is for instance possible that a man may keep his wife in ignorance, locked up in the house, not allowed to read or watch television in a country where the right to free communication is widely enjoyed. Likewise there may be war in a country and no wife battering or wife battering and no war. It is important to be aware of this logical independence when one does research on one or more of the cells, an independence which is frequently not recognized by the United Nation consensus texts on peace. Here peace is often taken to mean "the absence of war" in one paragraph whereas in the next paragraph it is said that peace cannot exist without the full participation of everyone in decision-making, the enjoyment of human rights,

equality and so on.

But the logical independence of the cells does not mean that there cannot be some connections between the cells, indeed there may be many. Whether such connections exist, is an empirical question. Feminist scholarship like that of Elise Bouding (1978) has shown that women receive more beatings in periods of high unemployment, thus linking unorganized direct violence on the micro-level to organized structural violence on the macro level. In the same study Elise Bouding finds that women feel themselves especially menaced when the level of general violence increase because of the strong psychological nexus between violence and rape.

In periods of war women are not only tortured and slaughtered like men are but it is common practice that they are raped. There are report of gang rapes of Vietnamese women by American soldiers during the Vietnam war. The last soldier "making love to her" shot her afterwards (Brownmiller,1975:110). But usually rape is reported only when committed "by the other side." Such selective reporting stimulates and justifies retaliation in kind by "this side". News of sexual abuses and rape caused by "this side" is not usually included in All the News That's Fit to Print. Susan Brownmiller has shown that selective reporting of rape has provided an ideological excuse for men to rape women "belonging" to other men.

For each of the six cells research questions may be asked of particular relevance for women and from one or more of the six feminist perspectives I have outlined elsewhere,(Brock-Utne,1989, :14-39), theoretically making for thirty-six combinations. One or more of the cells may attract more interest and attention from a researcher using one of the feminist perspectives for her or his analysis than from a researcher using one of the other perspectives. Only when we have gathered a vast amount of studies pertaining to all of the six cells and from various feminist perspectives, shall we have given a complete feminist analysis of peace, an analysis which will widen the field and give it greater objectivity, that is seeing more sides of the problem.

The development of the peace concept during the United Nations Decade for Women

In a study of the final documents from the three first UN Women Decade conferences (Mexico,1975, Copenhagen,1980 and Nairobi,1985) I have shown how the peace concept has changed within these same types of UN documents through the decade to include in it also the absence of violence against women (Brock-Utne,1988b). In this analysis I have shown that the only one of the final documents which stresses the feminist insight of linking micro with macro and stating that there is no peace as long as women are being beaten and mutilated is the Nairobi document (Brock-Utne,1986 and Brock-Utne,1989:70-73). Here it says in paragraph 258:

Violence against women exists in various forms in everyday life in all societies. Women are being beaten, mutilated, burned,sexually abused and raped. Such violence is a major obstacle to the achievement of peace..

And in paragraph 257 we find the following sentences:

The question of women and peace and the meaning of peace for women cannot be separated from the broader question of relationships between women and men in all spheres in life and in the family. Discriminatory practices and negative attitudes towards women should be eliminated and traditional gender norms changed to enhance women's participation in peace.

The change in the peace concept from the 1980 to the 1985 conferences reflects some of the thinking that went on within the net-work of feminist peace researchers within the International Peace Research Association (IPRA). This group, which was started in Orilla, Canada in 1981, exerted both by direct and commissioned consultancy and more indirect lobbying a great influence on the redefinition of the peace concept to include the absence of violence at the micro-level, especially against women.

DEVELOPMENT, STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND THE MICRO-MACRO LINK

Development theories so far, both the neoclassical "modernization" approach and the more radical alternative (embracing Marxist-dependency-world system variants) have hardly paid any attention to women at all. If women are mentioned, it is as a variable in research. These standard theories also tend to view the household as a "black box" and a basic unit of analysis. The household is not looked at as part of the political set-up. It is looked at as "the private, personal sphere."

Feminist thinkers do not accept such a split between the personal and the political (French, 1986: 477). Researchers who have done research to uncover the amount of wife-beatings going on in families have been told that: "Noone should inquire into the privacy of the home". (Brock-Utne, 1989:49). Barbara Roberts (1983), who has written extensively on violence against women, claims that no place is less safe for a woman than her own home. Feminist peace researchers and researchers on the violence against women have for some time been aware of the necessity of conducting research on what is going on within households.

Development researchers with a feminist perspective are reacting against the normal conceptualization of the household in development research. According to this conceptualization, no analysis is made of who does the work in the family, who makes the more influential decisions, who gets the rewards. An interesting Indian study, reported in the Indian feminist magazine *Manushi* some years ago (Horowitz & Kishwar, 1982) makes it clear that the traditional male-constructed economic indicators such as average household income, per capita income, and per capita food consumption, all fail to tell us who actually gets how much of what. They fail to look into essential questions such as:

1. How are economic resources distributed within the family and with what consequences?

2. Which family members have acquired greater decision-making powers over others?
3. Who within the family makes how much contribution to family income?
4. What is the labour contribution of each family member?

When the Indian researchers looked into the internal distribution of money, of food, and of decision-making power within landholding as well as landless Indian families, they found a steady pattern of discrimination of women which varied little from one class to another. Horowitz and Kishwar (1982) found that those who decided whether the woman in the family would be available for paid work outside the family were men; mostly the husband, sometimes sons or a father-in-law. This fact did not vary according to whether the woman belonged to a landowning family or to a landless agricultural family. The same study showed that even when the women worked for wages, very few of them seemed to have much say in how the bulk of the family's income would be spent nor were they allowed to participate in other important areas of family decision making. The lives of the women were hedged by crippling restrictions. This was especially true for women from landholding families. They were even more restricted and powerless than the women in the landless families. The Indian researchers show us how the gender neutral economic indicators do a great injustice to women and give us an incomplete picture of reality.

Having read their research, one does not wonder that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR,1980) a couple of years earlier found that even after adequate supplies of basic and supplementary food (earmarked for vulnerable groups) were available in the refugee camps, women and children continued to suffer from malnutrition. It was observed that in such situations the patterns of distribution, both within the refugee camps and within the refugee family, reflected the discriminatory socioeconomic relations prevailing in the refugee groups.

The development researcher Rae Lesser Blumberg (1989) brings her analysis of the household unit a step beyond looking at the discriminatory practices going on within this "black box" in most development research. She shows that without a proper understanding of the practices in the households in Africa, the African food crises cannot be understood. Gender is not just a research variable. It is a central theoretical concept.

She shows for instance that the greater a woman's relative economic power within the household, the greater the likelihood that her fertility pattern will reflect her own perceived utilities and preferences - rather than those of her mate, family, state and so on. Generally women use their greater economic leverage to achieve lower fertility. But micro-level fertility aggregates, of course, to a country's fertility rate. Blumberg refers to empirical studies supporting the hypothesis that reducing fertility contributes to economic growth in Third World nations. She concludes:

In other words, the economic empowerment of women at the micro level - that is, their increased share of the "internal economy of the household" - can generally be expected to help their country's economic growth indirectly by reducing its fertility levels.

(Blumberg, 1989: 165)

I have shown elsewhere that the claim by educational planners that providing girls with basic education will lower their fertility rate is false (Brock-Utne, 2000). It is only when girls get secondary and higher education which again raises their earning power and status within their family that this has an effect on the fertility rate.

Rae Lesser Blumberg also shows that the gender blindness of development planners and experts has not made them realize that development projects which introduce an intervention which increases women's work load while giving the returns to their husbands may easily prove detrimental to the nutritional status of children and women in the family. Development planners seem to be blind to the well- documented role of women as producers of ab. 80% of the locally consumed/ marketed food in Africa. (e.g. Sivard 1985, pp. 5,17). The Economic Commission for Africa estimates that females account for 70 - 80% of all labour hours in agriculture (United Nations 1987: 5).

In spite of this fact an estimated 97% of all agricultural extension agents providing adult education to farmers in Africa are male. (Swanson and Rassi, 1981). One can often hear expressions like "the farmer and his wife" or abstract talk about "farmers" without mentioning the fact that the food-growing farmers of Africa are mostly women. Many studies from third world countries show that the male extension agents transmit the agricultural information to the husband when the wives actually are the full-time farmers. Often the information is not transmitted by the husband to the wife. Sometimes it is incorrectly transmitted (Carloni,1987:16).

Another fact, to which development planners seem to be blind, is the practice of "separate purses" in most agrarian households in Africa. Women have the control over what they locally produce. Blumberg (1989:176-177) points to several studies showing that incentives for "the household" (sic. meaning the male) do not elicit as much of a response from women farmers as incentives under their own control. She points to the Cameroon SEMRY Irrigated Rice Project where the cultivating on the irrigated fields is a joint conjugal activity but the husband gets all the income.

Researchers found that wives were very reluctant to work on the rice fields because the work there competed with women's sorghum production and other income-generating activities. Even though rice would give a better price than sorghum, women preferred to spend their time growing sorghum. This is because the sorghum is cultivated on an individual basis. Although a married woman uses her sorghum primarily for feeding her family, it is her own sorghum. Rae Blumberg shows that the few independent women (mostly widows) in the project who grew rice on their own account, would spend much more time in the rice fields than the married women and less time with sorghum.

One of the major aims of current development practices vis-a-vis Africa - especially the World Bank's "structural adjustment" programs - is "getting the prices right." Feminist development researchers show that even the "rightest" of prices won't matter if women

producers of the bulk of the food crops don't get enough of the resulting income to provide incentive. Insufficient attention to women producers and their incentives seems to be a crucial but little recognized factor in the African food crises. Blumberg claims:

And yet, ironically, if given appropriate technical/credit aid and incentives, African women farmers may be the single most cost-effective available resource to alleviate the food crisis. (Blumberg, 1989: 182).

Without a feminist analysis using gender as a central theoretical concept and looking at the internal economy of the household, it is difficult to understand some basic facts from Tanzania which seem to puzzle development planners. For instance: Since Tanzania introduced its IMF and World-Bank-sponsored Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), in 1986, the country has shifted from being a net importer to a surplus producer of food. Agriculture in Tanzania has been growing at a rate of five to six percent per annum during the ERP, compared to three percent in 1981-1985. Without taking other statistics into account, this may look as a big achievement. But health statistics show that half the children in Tanzania are malnourished and 5 to 7 percent severely malnourished.

Valerie Leach (interviewed by Morna, 1990:4), the Head of the Analysis and Evaluation section of UNICEF in Dar es Salaam, claims that the "successful" Economic Recovery Programme has led to increased malnourishment of rural Tanzanian mothers and their children. She shows that a study of 1 350 households in the poorer neighbourhoods of Dar es Salaam showed malnutrition at 20 to 30 percent - slightly lower than the national average. She explains the lower rate of malnutrition in the towns by the fact that women here are more at home and frequently give the kids the snacks they make and sell outside the house. Since 80% of the agricultural work in Tanzania is done by women and more land has been cultivated under the ERP, Valerie Leach attributes the deteriorating health of rural women and children to the fact that rural women work harder on the land and do not get time to feed their children. It would also have been of interest had her Office looked into the incentives gained from the extra food production. Are the incentives given to men while women get less time to grow food directly under their own control?

The globalization of the last two decades with its capitalist market economy, liberalization, privatization and free flow of capital has led to advantages for the transnational companies and for the rich and for disadvantages for the poor. The system itself can be characterized as structural violence and thus unpeaceful. In his book entitled: "The Myth of Free Trade: The Pooring of America" Ravi Batra (1994) shows that in the period between 1977 and 1988 the family income for the poorest 10 per cent of the people living in the US decreased by almost 15 per cent. For all of the other deciles there has been a negative development in this period except for the richest two deciles. For 80 per cent of the people living in the US the development has been negative. For the decile next to the top the increase has been 1 percent only. Only the richest 10 per cent have had an increase amounting to 16.5 per cent. For the richest 1 per cent, the increase in family income in constant dollars has amounted to 49,8 per cent during this period.

In an article commenting upon Batra's findings Berit Ås (1999) points to the fact that it never occurred to Batra to underline that the two poorest deciles in the US almost completely consist of women and their dependents. During the late 80ies 51 per cent of a special family type, single mothers, fell under the poverty line in the US, while only 8,6 per cent of single mothers in the Swedish welfare state did so (Ås,1999:98). The Nordic countries have, however, under the pressure of globalization and market liberalization been building down their welfare states during the 90ies to the detriment of the poor, especially single mothers.

PEACE EDUCATION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

Peace education belongs to the larger field of peace studies. Within the thirty-five year old International Peace Research Association (IPRA) the Peace Education Commission (PEC) is the largest commission and has a special status. The members of the commission are mostly educators at higher levels, some are also teaching at lower levels and some are political scientists interested in the dissemination of findings from peace research. There is a tension in the commission between those who see peace education as a question of teaching *for* peace (mostly the educators and often those at lower levels in the education system) and those who see peace education as a question of teaching *about* peace (mostly the political scientists). There is also a tension between those who see peace education as a gender-neutral field where sexism is a non-issue and those who see the field from a feminist perspective. In the following a feminist perspective will be applied to the field of peace education.

Feminist peace education

A feminist peace educator does not talk about the way **children** are raised, but the way **boys** and **girls** are raised. A feminist peace educator tries to do away with rigid sex role socialization and the training into femininity or masculinity (Brock-Utne,1989:153). S/he sees to it that women's work for and writings on peace are made visible. A feminist peace educator tries to draw lessons for all humankind from the way women work for peace.

Even though many of the questions that feminist peace educators ask to-day already were asked more than sixty years ago by Virginia Woolf (1938) in her beautiful novel "Three Guineas", they were not made part of the agenda of peace education and research before the last two decades. In the novel "Three Guineas" Virginia Woolf asks how women can help men achieve peace when they are so oppressed themselves, when they have little education and the education they get is not of the holistic kind enabling them really to understand peace issues and teaching them to cooperate. Rather it is an education for war since it is an education teaching them to compete and giving them a compartmentalized knowledge where social and human questions are divorced from the technical ones.

Yet even after the publication of this book, the field of peace education continued to be looked at as a gender-neutral field (see for instance Röhrs,1983 as typical for this approach), a

field where sexism was a non-issue. It was only when feminist scholars started to combine peace education with their knowledge of sexism and with the field of gender role socialization, that certain gender-specific questions were asked within the academic fields of peace research and peace education. (Reardon,1985, Reardon,1988, Brock-Utne,1985, Brock-Utne,1989) Questions like: Do we educate boys for war and girls for peace? Are girls more socialized in empathy than boys are? What are the consequences of having that gender which is less socialized in empathy and most in aggressive behavior rule the world? What will applying feminist theories to the field of peace studies, including disarmament, human rights and development mean for the field of peace studies? (Brock-Utne,1985, 1989, 1992a, 1994, 1997). What is the relationship between militarism and sexism? (Easlea,1983, Reardon,1985)

The invisibility of the works of women on peace

Peace education from a feminist perspective also means making the works of women on peace visible. An evaluation of the content of eight books in peace education written in Swedish and currently in use in Swedish schools from pre-school through high-school showed that a feminist perspective is still very much lacking in peace education (Brock-Utne,1992b). The high school text is an anthology with excerpts from the works on peace from 23 authors. Among those there are 2 women, the one as a co-author with a man. Among the 17 one-authored articles only one is written by a woman. That makes six percent of the articles in a book which on its front-page defines peace as justice! In "Educating for Peace - a feminist perspective" (Brock-Utne,1985) many illustrations of the attempts to silence women working for peace and making their work invisible are given.

If such attempts do not succeed, then the next mechanism which will be used against her will be that of ridicule. After her death the mechanism of invisibility will again be used, making sure that she will be "forgotten" in the history books. The famous pacifist novel "Die Waffen nieder" (Down with arms) by the Austrian peace heroine Bertha von Suttner (1889) was such a work which the establishment at her time did not succeed in silencing. Instead she was ridiculed. And now her works and herself are "forgotten" in history books. The Swedish project gives another example to add to the list of attempts at making the work of women invisible, to "forget" that women have written some of the most penetrating works in the field. And this is done in a country where well-known women like Frederika Bremer, Ellen Key and recently Alva Myrdal, Inga Thorsson and Maj-Britt Theorin have been leading figures in the struggle for global disarmament.

Some of the most penetrating works on global questions concerning peace in the wide definition of the word have been written by women. One of the earliest critics of the way we destroy this planet was the Swedish author Elin Wägner (1941). Later followed Rachel Carson (1964) with "The Silent Spring", then Carolyn Merchant (1980) with "The Death of Nature", Rosalie Bertell (1985) with: "No immediate danger?" When it comes to works on Human Rights, Katarina Tomasevski's (1989) book is especially valuable as she is able to see human rights in a wide perspective. By stressing economic rights as much as the more commonly

mentioned civil rights, she also lets the fate of the poor people of the world, especially women, since they are the poorest of the poor, be the main concern of her book. The structural violence committed by us in the so-called first world towards the peoples of the third world is dealt with brilliantly by Susan George (1976) in her books: "How the Other Half dies", "A Fate worse than Debt." (George,1988) and "Faith and Credit" (George,1994) The arms race and collective direct violence is dealt with intelligently and thoroughly by Helen Caldicott (1986) in her book: "Missile Envy." There are strong psychological mechanisms at work against these women and their writings. The strongest of them all is trying to silence them and to make their works invisible.

Peace education within womens' peace groups

I have often been invited as a lecturer or discussant to local groups of the Nordic Women for Peace both in Norway, Sweden and Finland. The discussions going on in these groups are impressive and can be looked at as the best application one can find of the pedagogic principles which peace educators as well as feminist educators and adult educators want to adhere to. The atmosphere is one of sharing, of learning from each other.

An analysis of the way women work for peace brought out three main characteristics:

- women working for peace make use of a varied set of non-violent techniques, acts and strategies.
- women take as their point of departure the concern for and ultimate value of life, especially the life of children, but also the life of all human beings and of Nature.
- women's work for peace is transpolitical, often transnational, aimed at reaching women and sometimes also men and state leaders in the opposite
- camp (Brock-Utne, 1985:37-70).

In the book "Educating for Peace" (Brock-Utne,1985) many examples are given of the way women work non-violently and across borders to create peace and understanding among groups that have been taught hostility against each other. New examples can be added to this list constantly. For instance Irina Molodikova (1999) tells movingly about the Soviet-Russian mothers of boys in the military forces who in 1989 formed the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia (CSMR). The mothers had been horrified by what they saw and learned about conditions in the armed forces: the regular beatings, abuse and humiliation, the lack of food or other necessities. CSMR was founded in 1989 by five women - two engineers, a journalist, a teacher and an economist. Officially it was registered in the same year with a membership of 300 mothers of soldiers. CSMR set up a Rehabilitation Centre for soldiers who left the army for health reasons. Its activities expanded and diversified to include the organization of human rights

education for conscripts and their parents, dealing with individual complaints concerning human rights violations, regular inspection of military units and the organization of non-violent public protests. The Mothers have assisted over 7 000 deserters and their parents. Demonstrations have been held in many Russian cities against the militarization of society and against human rights violations in the army.

Since November 1994 when the war in Chechnya broke out the CSMR was concerned about stopping the war and finding non-violent solutions to the conflict. CSMR proposed a plan for settling the Chechen conflict politically and demanded that Russian federal authorities halt military actions. They stated repeatedly that the Chechen war was undeclared and unlawful. The Committee organized many mothers of soldiers who since January 1995 went to Chechnya to bring their sons home. A CSMR representative stayed in the center of military actions for almost two months and with the help of Chechens returned home approximately 100 Russian soldiers. CSMR bombarded the Russian government with statements and petitions, and campaigned for the young men who refused to serve in Chechnya, declaring themselves conscientious objectors. They started a campaign encouraging mothers to support the right of their sons to refuse military service. Despite the active opposition of the military authorities, the CSMR organized a remarkable "March of Mothers' Compassion". The march began on March 8, 1995, International Women's Day, and reached Chechnya by the end of the month, where the marchers were welcomed by Chechens in war-devastated towns and villages. The marchers bore witness to the horrific abuses of the war. The event received extensive media coverage. The Committee of Soldiers' Mothers during the first Chechen war has:

- marched to Chechnya to bury dead soldiers, free soldiers captured by Chechens and to find missing soldiers
- reached across the front lines to cooperate with Chechen women in anti-war activities
- held consultations with around 600 soldiers and mothers regarding violations of their rights in the war
- come together with Chechens in their own towns and villages at the height of the war
- protested against the war by organizing public meetings and actions
- fought human rights violations by both sides of the conflict
- sent out a questionnaire to create their own data-bank on human losses in the conflict. The responses from mothers who have lost their sons in the war proved the Defense Minister's official figures of losses to be far too low.

Women's attempt to reach out to other women or to people in the so-called "opposing" camp as also CSMR is doing has often not been appreciated by men, even not by men working with peace issues. When the Nordic Women for Peace marched to the Soviet Union in 1982 the Norwegian male-dominated "No to Nuclear arms" did not want to have anything to do with

the march. They were not only refusing to support the march morally but also commented upon it rather negatively (Brock-Utne,1985:69).

Often women working for peace try to envision a new world, a pragmatopia where the power is divided evenly between women and men, everyone has satisfied the basic necessities of life and conflicts are solved non-violently (Pietilä,1986, Brock-Utne, 1992a).

Are boys educated for war and girls for peace?

There is an enormous pressure on mothers who would like to give their sons an education which is more in line with feminist ideas. An education where the sons are taught to cooperate, care, show tender emotions, share household chores rather than to compete and be tough (see Arcana,1983, Klein,1985, Forcey,1987, Brock-Utne,1991). In an in-depth study twenty feminist mothers of sons and twenty more traditional mothers of sons were interviewed. It was found that most of the mothers, no matter what category they had been placed in, wanted to give their son a different education from the one most boys get in our societies. (Brock-Utne,1991). Neither of the groups felt that they had succeeded in raising their sons the way they had wanted.

The only clear difference which could be detected between the two groups of mothers was found in the way they explained their lack of success. The traditional mothers put the blame on the genes: "boys will be boys," while the feminist mothers put the blame more on environmental factors, including themselves - their lack of time as well as the absent fathers, the influence of the sport coaches, the influence of the fathers of the friends of their son, of television, videos and games.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter attempts to show that the linking of the micro with the macro in the analysis of direct violence as well as indirect or structural violence is essential both to peace research and development studies. Feminist scholarship linking unorganized direct violence on the micro-level to organized structural violence on the macro level is referred to. The only one of the final documents from the three UN Women Decade conferences (Mexico,1975, Copenhagen,1980 and Nairobi,1985) which stresses the feminist insight of linking micro violence with macro violence and stating that there is no peace as long as women are being beaten and mutilated is the Nairobi document.

Development theories, which are dealing with structural violence, have hardly paid any attention to women at all and have done little to link the structural violence at the micro level to the structural violence on the macro level. If women are mentioned, it is as a variable in research. These standard theories also tend to view the household as a "black box" and a basic unit of analysis. This chapter shows that gender is not just a research variable. It is a central

theoretical concept. Gender blindness of development planners and experts has not made them realize that development projects which introduce an intervention which increases women's work load while giving the returns to their husbands may easily prove detrimental to the nutritional status of children and women in the family. Within a setting where structural violence is committed against whole countries there may also be structural violence going on at the micro level. Without a study of the mechanisms responsible for direct and structural violence at the micro-level, within the household (the black box in most social science research including peace and development studies) we shall be unable to understand the structural and direct violence taking place at the macrolevel.

The last part of the paper looks at peace education from a feminist perspective. The different socialization boys and girls receive as well as the role mothers play in the education of their sons is analyzed. So is the work women do for peace. The invisibility of much of the work of women, also the work for peace is commented upon.

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